

WANANCHI DECLARATION

The Programme of the
KENYA PEOPLE'S UNION



CONTENTS

The Birth of the KPU

Independence after 80 years — The Problem of Independence — The Nationalists press for real Uhuru — The land issue and Bildad Kaggia — KADU and KANU join to fight the true Nationalists — The schemes of the "Corner Bar" group — Pinto is Killed — The "coup" at the Limuru conference — The Break with KANU and the Founding of KPU.

Socialism : KPU's Plan for National Development

KANU's Socialism is really Capitalism — Give Economic Power to the People — Socialism creates growth — Proper Planning.

Economic Uhuru for the Wananchi

Straightening Out of the Lop-sided Economy — Land for the People, and a ceiling on land holdings — Land debts to be Reduced — Co-operatives — Agriculture: Marketing Boards — Irrigation — Wages for Agricultural Workers — Industrialisation — Trade — Nationalisation — Investment and Aid — Raising Capital — Employment — Trade Unions.

The Welfare of the Wananchi

Education: Primary, Secondary, Harambee Schools, Technical Schools and Village Polytechnics, Universities and Adult Education — African Traditions and Culture — Health and Housing.

Democratic Rights

Parliament and full Participation — Basic Human Rights — Independent Courts — The Civil Service — The Rights of Women — The Press, Radio and Television.

Foreign Policy

African Unity — Real Non-Alignment — The Cause of Freedom on the African Continent.

A New Future for Kenya

Kenya's People are Her Chief Resources for Building Socialism.

WANANCHI DECLARATION

The Kenya People's Union is open to all Kenyans who have the true interests of Kenya at heart, and who will dedicate their efforts to the well-being of their fellow-citizens, and not to the acquisition of individual power and wealth. The party invites all wananchi to join its ranks. Our goal is a democratic, socialist state, without exploitation by a privileged few.

We have seen in Kenya that satisfied politicians in high office cannot understand the problems of the hungry and the landless. When the KPU is in Government, YOU will be in Government, carrying out policies in the interest of the wananchi.

The Kenya People's Union was born after KANU had failed to lead the country according to the policy and the pledges made to the people of Kenya during the struggle for independence. Instead of promoting socialism in the de-colonisation and reconstruction of the country, KANU, after only two years in power, became a party representing and enriching a small privileged ruling class. In most cases ownership of land in Kenya changed hands from one group of rich people to another, and the poor and the landless have been forgotten. KANU has turned its back on the ideals which inspired the struggle of the wananchi for independence. Dedicated nationalists had to form a new party to carry on the struggle for a better life for the wananchi.

I. THE BIRTH OF THE KPU

After his release from detention, Jomo Kenyatta was placed in the key position of the leadership of the national independence movement. *Kenyatta's release* had been won by the efforts of the progressive nationalists who refused to negotiate with the colonial regime until he was released. (It is an ironic fact that the majority of President Kenyatta's Cabinet today consists of people who at one time or another opposed his release.)

By the time Kenyatta returned to politics, the independence movement had developed an irresistible momentum and it was only a matter of time before the colonial regime was forced to give in. This was achieved in December 1963 — when *independence* was secured after 80 years of colonial rule, 80 years of humiliation for the African people.

Independence brought new problems with it. Direct colonial rule had been eliminated, but many aspects of colonialism were still deeply entrenched in the life of the country. The European settlers were still in control of the stolen lands. Factories, shops and trading companies were still in foreign hands. The progressive nationalists realised that until the grip of foreigners on the economy was broken, independence would mean very little to the wananchi. The people of Kenya did not shed blood just to get rid of colonialism, they wanted a more just, social and

economic system under which wealth would be more equitably distributed and not concentrated in the hands of a few foreigners and local rich. The wananchi had been inspired by dreams of justice and democracy, of land to grow crops and tend cattle and schools for the education of their children.

The true nationalists began to press for *economic and social changes* to carry out KANU's earlier pledges to the people. They wanted more than the replacement of a few white faces with black. They wanted the government to use its newly acquired power to improve the lot of the man in the street and on the shamba. But already some of the KANU leaders had begun to enjoy the pomp, splendour and wealth formerly reserved for the colonial masters. They grew rich suddenly and mysteriously, and became surprisingly popular with the settlers, big business, and the former colonial power.

Those who opposed this turn of affairs began to be attacked more and more openly by the anti-nationalists in KANU who were now coming out into the open. *The land issue* became a major point of difference within KANU at an early stage. In 1964, *Bildad Kaggia*, the veteran nationalist leader, demanded that the freedom-fighters and other landless who had been deprived of their land by the colonial rulers because of their active participation in the struggle for Uhuru, should be given free land. When he refused to withdraw his demands, to which KANU had

committed itself before coming to power, Kenyatta dismissed Kaggia from the government and virulently attacked him from a public platform.

Although confidence in the sincerity of KANU policies was already beginning to weaken, the progressive nationalists still felt that Kenyatta might be persuaded to honour KANU's pledges to the people. They supported the move to bring KADU into KANU in order to strengthen national unity. KADU had been created in 1960 by some in the national movement who were frustrated by the intrigues of the secretary-general of KANU, but very soon, because of lack of funds to run the party, KADU had fallen an easy prey to the European settlers who used its leaders in their endeavours to frustrate nationalist aims. The two parties were unified at the end of 1964. The dedicated progressive nationalists had worked for the merger of the parties in order to strengthen national unity. But the reactionaries, who were by now deeply entrenched in the government, saw it in a completely different light. To them the merger was not meant to strengthen national unity, but to camouflage the consolidation of the right-wing and anti-democratic forces. The coming together of these forces forged an instrument for the suppression of those who were demanding a proper distribution of land and other wealth of the country among the wananchi.

The anti-nationalist forces wasted no time. Closely guided by foreign advisers, they worked out a strategy to destroy the progressive nationalists, who were growing stronger. With vast amounts of imperialist money at its disposal, the anti-nationalist group formed itself into the notorious "Corner Bar" group, named after its meeting place. While the "Corner Bar" group itself consisted largely of back-benchers who had been induced to join, there also existed a parallel but higher-level group of members of the Cabinet who met separately. A still higher inner planning group included advisers from some Western embassies.

Having united with their opposite numbers in KADU, KANU's right-wing now prepared to launch an open assault on the progressive nationalists. This was not easy, as the wananchi and a large section of parliament were staunchly nationalist. However, things started to happen when a brutal and shocking act of murder was done. On 4th February, 1965, in broad daylight, Pío Gama Pinto was assassinated by gunmen, an atrocity which no African nationalist will ever forget. Pío Gama Pinto was a staunch and fearless nationalist and socialist. His assassination was meant to eliminate a dedicated opponent of neo-colonialism and capitalism, and to sow terror among the nationalists, especially in Parliament.

Carefully stage-managed acts to discredit the progressive nationalists were launched with the full connivance of President Kenyatta and active advice of certain Western diplomats. The most notorious of these was the Kisii arms scandal, designed to discredit Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, then the Vice-President of the nation. A "coup" was staged in the parliamentary group and in the sessional committee, and all official positions in those bodies were filled with supporters of the "Corner Bar" group. All efforts of the anti-nationalist forces were then focussed on the removal of Jaramogi Oginga Odinga from the vice-presidency, and the destruction of the political influence of Bildad Kaggia and Odinga among the masses.

For four years KANU had been deliberately strangled and no elections held of party officials. The reactionaries knew well that if democratic elections were held and the party revived, it would inevitably be radical and progressive, the true voice of the wananchi. The right wing forces now made plans to stage a *coup inside KANU*. Some preparations for this had already been made. "Elections" of a fraudulent character had been held in some of the militantly progressive branches, notably Machakos, Murang'a, South Nyanza and Kisii. The objective of these manoeuvres was to oust the popular leaders of the wananchi, among them Bildad Kaggia.

Although some more illegal and rigged "branch elections" were held to remove progressives, even these were not enough to ensure a victory for the right wing at a party conference. But now all pretence at legality and democratic procedure was dropped. Suddenly, without warning, a party conference was called at two weeks' notice, contrary to the party's constitution. The party's constitution was claimed to be "out of date" and a new draft "constitution" was produced. Kenyatta, who was secretly involved in these intrigues, now took the nationalists by surprise. He declared, quite unconstitutionally, that the new constitution could be approved by the parliamentary group and need not await debate at the party conference.

The events at the KANU conference at Limuru are too well-known to require elaboration. Under the revised constitution, the post of Deputy President of the party was abolished in order to exclude Jaramogi Oginga Odinga from party office. Rigged "elections" were held in what was already an illegal meeting. Many delegates were deliberately excluded. Despite all the rigging, however, things did not go according to plan in every respect. Bildad Kaggia defeated Gichuru and Kiano for the Vice-Presidency of Central Province. But the anti-nationalist forces had gone too far to allow this, because Kaggia's victory made everything else they had achieved worthless. The problem was solved with what had by now become a characteristic move—Kaggia's election was declared invalid and Gichuru elected in his place.

Until now, the progressive nationalists had borne all the insults hurled at them. They had tolerated the most vicious and dirty manoeuvres in the interests of maintaining unity. They had believed that Kenyatta was a prisoner of the anti-nationalist forces. However, the Limuru conference proved the contrary. Kenyatta had clearly shown that he was on the side of the reactionary right-wingers.

Nothing, however mean and degrading, was beyond this group. Democratic practices and morality were totally abandoned. The wananchi were utterly betrayed and lust for power and personal gain emerged as the main objectives of the country's rulers.

Some of the progressive nationalists resigned from KANU immediately and formed the *Kenya People's Union*. One month after the Limuru conference, Jaramogi Oginga Odinga resigned from the Vice-Presidency, and Achieng' Onoko from the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. A few days later, Jaramogi Oginga Odinga

and Bildad Kaggia were elected interim President and Deputy President respectively.

The rate at which the Kenya People's Union, its policies and its leaders have attracted support since the party was formed is a well known fact of political life in Kenya today. Although never directly admitted by KANU, and by its foreign allies, the strength of the KPU and what it stands for is the main preoccupation of their strategists. Thus they constantly deny KPU public platforms, since they know thousands upon thousands of *wananchi* would flock to these meetings and so disprove KANU's hollow claim to be the party of Kenya's people.

The KANU Government has detained and persecuted KPU leaders and progressive trade unionists whose organisational ability and mass appeal they cannot match even by buying people with imperialist money. Thus, since the birth of KPU, KANU has continued to rule by abusing the power they hold in trust from the people.

Despite all this intimidation and persecution KPU has grown from strength to strength.

Many examples of KANU's failures have been quoted. We hope this will set the nation thinking and examining KANU's record.

II. SOCIALISM: KPU'S PLAN FOR NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

African society has always had strong elements of communal tradition in every-day life. In no African community were people ever divided into classes. They shared their resources according to their needs, and they shared social and family responsibilities.

Under the cloak of something called "African Socialism", Kenya is moving towards one of the more orthodox forms of capitalism to be found in the world today. Why does the KANU government call its policy socialism, and not dare admit that it follows the capitalist road? Because it knows well that capitalism is utterly wrong and unsuited to the needs and aspirations of the people of Kenya. Most capitalist governments have learned to make a few concessions or gestures towards social reform when they have to. But KANU's "concessions" to social change in the economy centre round a larger African share in capitalism: it seeks the Africanisation of trade, land-holding, executive positions in private firms and more African share-holdings in Kenya-based companies.

In Kenya today economic growth serves to strengthen the hand of the private interests which already determine how the bulk of the nation's wealth is used and divided. Their first motive in this is to make a profit for themselves and their shareholders. The international brotherhood of profit-seekers finds a "healthy and stable" economic climate in Kenya.

There are people who will argue that a rich country can afford capitalism. But in a developing country like Kenya there is no argument about it. Where most people lack the essentials for a decent life and where wealth is so unevenly divided, we will slide into dictatorship and generations of misery for the majority of our citizens

under capitalism. It is not the business of the private profit-seekers to provide the social essentials. So we cannot afford to let our society be run by them. And changing the skin-colour of the profit-seekers is not social reform. It will make capitalism more difficult than ever to root out.

The only answer lies in the system known as Socialism. For, the first essential for a fair distribution in a poor society is to put *economic power into the hands of the people*. This is not done merely by installing a few Africans as directors of big companies, and parcelling out large tracts of land to Ministers and their relations.

The country's resources must be administered by and through a democratically-elected government whose policy-makers share *the interests of the small farmer and the worker*.

The government must be able to ensure that a reasonable share of the profits of economic activity is ploughed directly back into expansion. And it must protect the consumers from the high prices caused by excessive profits.

The government can encourage a measure of profit incentive in the working of the economy to sustain the desire to work hard and build the nation. But no one must have so much capital that he and his descendents can live off its profits without working. Higher incomes must be possible only through skills and hard work.

The managerial skills of all minorities who are prepared to use their entrepreneurial ability in the service of the people, and within a socialist framework, will be welcomed and rewarded. Likewise we will welcome all foreign capital and skills which are made available to us for achieving and furthering the above objectives. But we will accept them only on our terms.

These, then, are the objectives of KPU. A KPU government will manage the economy according to socialist principles, some of which are outlined above.

Socialism can stimulate economic growth. A state-run industry can plough back its returns into development and sustain itself much more easily than a private company. For, a private company must use a large proportion of the profits it would otherwise plough back into expansion to keep its shareholders happy. By taking control of key companies that are profitable, a socialist government can channel all returns into the development of the country, instead of allowing a big share to increase the incomes and luxury-spending of the privileged few. Further, with state control the government has much greater freedom to determine *priorities in planning*. When most of the capital is in the hands of foreigners who owe no loyalty to the long term development of the country, national needs get neglected. The capitalist wants quick, high returns. Knowing that capitalism in a developing country is a basically unstable system — that is, it is "too good to last" it is quite logical for them to squeeze as much profit as they can out of the country, "while the going is good". The industries in which such quick returns are possible are not always those the country really needs.

Our *experiences in recent years in Kenya* illustrates some of the weaknesses of the present system in promoting economic growth. For example, after the second Lancaster House constitutional conference, Kenya's economic growth took a sudden drop from which it did not begin to recover until late in 1965. The most visible sign of this depression was stagnation in new building projects. This was not because the men and the materials to do the job mysteriously vanished, or because factories and import lines were disturbed; the essentials were still very much available. The reason was simply that the owners or

holders of private capital, here and abroad, were "nervous" about the shape of things to come in independent Kenya.

The answer in economic terms was NOT for government to expand its energies on showing what good, "reliable" capitalists and self-seekers Africans could be, to allay the fears of these people. But the answer lay in setting about to change the structure of the economy and the power of the African government within it so that our development could never again be at the total mercy of foreign or local capitalists. This is the approach the present leaders of KPU were constantly urging from within the government at the time, and is the reason why they were "forced out".

Specifically, the government's proper line of action should have been to take immediate control of enough profit-making, capital accumulating, and capital-directing institutions to be able to influence and direct the working of the economy. Then at a time of depression it could have gone in for building at low cost. Government could thus have stimulated the long chain reaction of industrial activity which building always causes. It could have created new jobs, provided valuable practical training, given work to those artisans who left the country at the time for lack of work, and now are so badly needed, and expanded the productive and social assets of the nation.

It is only by getting control over substantial areas of economic activity that the Government can free itself from the grip of private capital and promote the kind of development it wants, using the capital it owns and creates itself. This a KPU government will do.

III. ECONOMIC UHURU FOR THE WANANCHI

The Economy

Kenya inherited a lopsided, capitalist economy concentrated in the hands of foreigners. The African community remained to a large extent outside the growing and prosperous money economy. Most of the rural areas reserved for Africans were areas of poverty, strongly contrasted with the richer European farming lands and the towns. In the towns there were obvious signs of prosperity, but the Africans who formed the majority had no real stake in this wealth, and they earned meagre wages compared with those paid to immigrants.

There have been a few limited and uncoordinated changes of emphasis within this colonial pattern of economic relationships. But the structure itself has been consecrated by KANU as the permanent one for Kenya. What are the implications? More — not less — Africans are going to stay outside the money economy if present policies continue. In the agricultural areas the KANU government is busy consolidating land ownership into the hands of fewer people — eventually driving more peasants off the land to seek work at low wages on the European-owned estates or the huge farms of white or African "gentlemen" farmers, now growing in number. In only a few lush and favoured areas like Kiambu, have peasant farmers increased their income.

Settlement schemes turned much of Kenya's most productive and developed land back to peasant farming of

a relatively poor kind. Inadequate and unsuitable technical advice, insufficient markets and excessive loan repayments all made it extremely difficult for the settlers to succeed. Settlement was merely a limited colonial device to skim off the strongest political pressure. It was neither an answer to problems of landlessness nor to problems of agricultural development. Yet the Kenya government was burdened with an enormous bill for the settler buy-out as a condition of independence.

In the towns a greater proportion of the African population has moved into higher-paying jobs. But they have made a very slight impression on the existing patterns of urban cultural and commercial life, with its European and Asian predominance. Naked racialism is still rampant in house-renting in the former residential areas of immigrant minorities. Wages in the cash economy have improved but have been more than offset by rises in the cost of living. The proportion of Africans in employment has decreased. Acute unemployment remains the biggest problem in the country today.

Land

Uhuru has no meaning until the land problem is solved.

Land has always been at the very heart of our struggle. It is the traditional source of our livelihood. The KANU leaders have betrayed the masses in their deep-felt need for land, grabbing it for themselves and sharing it with foreigners, just when opportunities for change were greatest and the hopes of the people reached new heights. As a first priority, therefore, KPU will introduce a new land policy.

KPU will put the land in the hands of the people. Failure to return the land stolen in colonial times is, for millions of people, the most serious in the string of broken promises since the end of colonial rule. It is the bitterest fruit of KANU "socialism" for the tens of thousands of landless and jobless people.

The KANU government, after strong pressure from KPU, has recently restricted new land purchases by non-citizens. But this has very little impact because large areas of land had already been purchased or transferred to non-citizens before the prohibition was imposed. KPU will not allow non-citizens to own any agricultural land, whether that land was acquired before prohibition or not.

European settlers have had good cause to make enthusiastic declarations of loyalty to the Kenyatta government. It has played their game well so far. Non-citizens were free to buy as much land as they liked. In the first four years after independence, more than 50 per cent of all land bought was purchased by Europeans. Asians moved in quickly and freely, largely for short-term speculative farming. Vast agricultural projects were handed over to the complete control of large foreign firms.

The KANU government's most specific betrayal is to fail even to look into limiting the size of individual land holdings in former European areas. But the government and KANU are now totally unable to take drastic action on the land question. Their ideological commitment to capitalism is re-enforced by their individual ownership of hundreds and even thousands of acres. Most Ministers and Assistant-Ministers and other KANU leaders own big estates, some of them more than one. *One Minister holds six farms.* KANU's leaders have ceased to be the

representatives of the people. They are the allies of European settlers and other capitalists.

KPU will immediately put a *ceiling on the size of land-holdings*. In re-distributing the larger holdings, KPU will introduce medium-sized farms where the land is not particularly suitable for small-scale farming. KPU will not be limited to the present extremes where farms are either very large or very small. The land released as a result of restrictions on non-citizens' ownership and the conditions imposed for maximum-sized holdings will be distributed among the needy, including *squatters*, and those who lost their lands in the struggle for independence.

When the terms for independence were being negotiated with Britain, those now in power were ready, some almost eager, to accept arrangements which saddled the new Kenya with a huge debt to buy out, at high prices, settlers who had acquired land and live well off it for decades. It is one thing to borrow and repay for productive assets, it is quite another to borrow huge sums to buy your own land back, and sums which promptly leave the country.

Let us examine the *land settlement programme* briefly. First, it was a colonial formula followed through with uncritical readiness by the KANU government. The motive was to "take the heat out" of the problem of land hunger, and at the same time to compensate settlers generously for the land they sold. In the process, petty nepotism and corruption had great opportunities. Numbers of the small holdings allocated were given on the basis of tribal or political favour. To have fought, suffered and lost land in the struggle counted for nothing. Settlement families were landed with heavy, often impossible burdens, as their small holdings sank back into subsistence farming. The debts they bear today are primarily the result of high prices paid for the land to European settlers. Having settled one million acres, the KANU government then abandoned further settlement on any sizeable scale. This was to be its total answer to the desperate social problem of land hunger. The landless were to step back and clear the way, not for a planned public programme of a new kind, but for a speed-up of the individual land grabbing of the new elite which had already got under way not only on former European land, but in reserved African areas as well. KPU will immediately reduce the *debt on land* because it does not believe that the heavy burden of high prices paid to Europeans should be borne by those settled on the schemes. KPU will also take immediate steps to relieve settlers of other excessive financial burdens.

What about *co-operatives*? The few that exist received even less attention than the new individual farmers. Their failure, one after another, their corruption into business enterprises, has obviously been due to the government's shocking neglect of them, its failure to provide advice, training, loans, and positive encouragement of any kind. KPU will encourage co-operatives wherever possible.

The KPU government will tackle the land problem immediately.

Non-citizens will not be allowed to own farming land, except in limited cases where they will lease it in partnership with state or para-state organisations, on specific conditions and for specific purposes.

A ceiling will be placed on all individual land holdings in former European settled areas. As the above measures pave the way, free land will be distributed to the landless, including squatters and those who lost their land in the struggle for independence.

KPU will reduce the indebtedness of the settlers by curtailing their debts on land and providing relief against other excessive burdens.

Co-operatives, either under state supervision in partnership with the state, or with government help, will be formed wherever desirable or convenient, on land acquired from European settlers. Co-operative systems will be strongly encouraged on settlement schemes and in consolidated areas.

Land consolidation will be promoted but only in a democratic manner according to the wishes of the people, and particular care will be taken to ensure that individuals do not grasp too much for themselves to the detriment of the rest of the population in these areas.

KPU will honour the rights of tribes and clans to their land, but the state will have the right to direct land use in such a way as to make such usage most advantageous to the country.

Agriculture

Agriculture occupies a central place in the economy of our country. Moreover, the bulk of the population derives its livelihood from the soil.

Improvement of the standard of living, along with greater productivity, requires that agriculture be modernised and that wider, more efficient use be made of human and material resources on the land.

Co-operative methods are the key to a better use of human resources. And to secure the advancement of agriculture the countryside needs more credit, more improved needs, guaranteed economic prices for African farmers, enlarged extension services and training in modern agricultural methods.

But under KPU, *small farmers* and other individual farmers, once their holdings have been set at sizes consistent with democracy and socialism, will benefit from the improved network of extension services.

However, more than credit and outside help is necessary to improve agriculture. Farmers must work hard — and the benefits and purpose of hard work and co-operation must be visible to them. This requires communal and co-operative effort, something the people have long understood — but it must be inspired from the top by a truly popular Government which enjoys the confidence of the wananchi and shares their interests.

To make the benefits visible — the malpractice, the deadwood, and the capitalist structure of the present administration and marketing structure must be cleared away.

Influential and wealthier people must not get the services and credit which others are denied.

The inefficiency prevailing in the marketing of many crops must be stopped.

The top-heavy and very often corrupt administration of marketing boards must be cut back and streamlined to release more funds for the farmers, and to keep a finger on the pulse of both internal and foreign markets to aid the sensitive planning of crops and subsidies.

Marketing organisations will be taken out of the hands of the capitalist-run organisations which do so much to corrupt the purpose of farmers' co-operatives. Import and export marketing of agricultural produce will come under total government control. This will release us to explore directly the world markets open for our products, and will wrest the stranglehold of our supply-and-demand patterns out of the hands of the Western-oriented international marketing organisations. Through these bodies the rich countries are even able to take our produce at their prices and sell them to other markets.

We will look into the feasibility of a network of irrigation schemes, large but also and especially small, and make it possible for people to exploit the potentialities of self-help in this area.

An effective minimum wage structure for agricultural estate workers will immediately be devised to put a stop to the present extreme exploitation of these workers.

In response to world overproduction of coffee and the restriction of Kenya's quota on the Western-controlled international market, the KANU government has effectively penalised smaller, mainly African growers while leaving the bulk of quota supply in the hands of mostly European non-citizen farmers. The stress must be changed. If the right to grow coffee must be limited, it will be restricted to the wananchi.

Industrialisation

KPU accepts that at present agriculture is the backbone of the Kenya economy. We have very definite plans for mobilising the people to make our land productive. But unless with our East African partners, we build up our infrastructure (transport links, communications, electric power), and our industry with all possible speed, Kenya must go on accepting the role allotted to it by the capitalist world—as provider of cheap agricultural products and buyer of expensive manufactured goods, with prices in both cases fixed by the developed countries.

The KANU government is evading responsibility for development of the industrial sector by putting all industrial expansion into private hands. It has failed to produce a *national industrial plan* to open up those areas beyond the urban centres, where industrial development is viable. KPU's development plan will be based on a policy of spreading the benefits of economic growth to all parts of Kenya.

In rural areas and smaller population centres, industries will be tied to agricultural produce, other raw materials and the feasibility of developing a good infrastructure, and local consumer needs. The shortage of private

capital will not stand in the way of a promising project—because private capital will not set the pace of industrial growth.

The KPU recognises that some industry must go where it is cheapest to operate. The more complex industry must be concentrated in developed areas. And KPU recognises that there will come a stage when *urbanisation* must not only be allowed but encouraged. This means the social problems involved in rapid urbanisation must be faced squarely. Under a KPU government urban planning will be geared to creating a decent urban existence for workers and their families. It is here that we must make the break with the colonial system—under which there was never even an attempt to create a decent way of life for Africans in the town. Africans were looked upon merely as a rural reservoir of labour, to be drawn on when required.

KPU is committed to rapid industrialisation and will re-organise development institutions for this purpose.

KPU will stress the allocation of financial resources for the development of the infrastructure.

KPU will liaise with local authorities and administer grants and loans to create industries in new areas.

Grants and loans for industry will be administered in a manner which ensures more even social and geographical development.

KPU will press for the setting up of heavy industries on an East African basis.

KPU will ensure that social justice for workers is not overlooked in any plan for industrial development.

Trade

Far too many people are trying to live off trade. There are the thousands of small traders throughout the country, each working on a low turnover and high profit margin.

KPU will take positive steps to ensure that the African small trader does not continue to be starved of credit facilities, expertise in business control and support from the manufacturer and wholesale supplier, but it will not see him as an isolated middleman, trying to exploit the consumer in a cut-throat free-for-all society.

KPU government will encourage the channelling of wholesale trade through co-operative societies dealing with the small business man. For this purpose we will strengthen and re-organise the *national trading co-operative movement* throughout the country.

Co-operatives will play a major part in the commercial life of the nation. Administrative machinery will be strengthened. *Finance* will be made available through a co-operative bank, for their rapid development. Peasant farmer co-operatives will also be strengthened so that they can sell their produce and supply the requirements of their members more efficiently.

Co-operatives will not be private companies in disguise, where some wealthy people become members by putting in capital instead of their own labour. And as the commercial sector is Africanised and stopped from being burden on the

economy and the consumer, so KPU will break the grip of foreign business.

KPU will set up a *Price Control board* and will press within the East African Community for the setting up of a regional bureau of standards to test quality of goods.

There are too many people making too high a living importing luxuries like expensive cars, wine and spirits, cosmetics, and so on. This may make Kenya a paradise for the expatriate and for the rich—both as a trader and as a consumer. But meanwhile it is taking us further and further away from a more even distribution of wealth, and it is creating a severe drain on the national economy by wasting our foreign exchange on unproductive spending.

KPU will NOT allow this trade between the rich to continue as the pace-setter of our private economic activity. Importers and traders whose livelihood depends on selling large gleaming limousines and delicacies to tickle the palate of those with too much money, will have to find more productive goods to import—tractors, not Mercedes.

Foreign earnings will be used to import the means of production. Developed countries are just as happy to sell us tractors and machinery as cars and luxury items. Luxury trade will be limited to what is necessary to maintain a dynamic tourist industry. The stress on imports, under a KPU government, will be on *capital equipment* necessary to expand industry. This change in itself may not improve our balance of payments deficit, but it will mean that deficit is caused through real expansion, not waste which amounts to criminal folly.

KPU is committed to *ending foreign monopolies* in the import-export business—not by featherbedding a few chosen businessmen to become trade kings but by putting the import-export trade under public control.

As a part of its federation policy, KPU will press for the establishment of an *East African Export and Import Organisation* for the benefit of the East African peoples. Such an organisation will be charged with the responsibility of expanding market opportunities for East Africa throughout the world.

Nationalisation

Nationalisation is the main immediate method of putting economic power in the hands of the people and bringing about a more equitable distribution of the fruits of their labour.

Those industries, like the public utilities, which are vital to national economic independence, will be nationalised as a first step, as well as those which are profitable and can provide the necessary capital for development.

Where nationalisation may not be used, KPU will accept a joint venture between the government and private entrepreneurs on the understanding that the nation's interest in the enterprise is paramount.

The *nationalised industries* will serve as a basis for further industrialisation and domestic capital accumulation so vital for economic development. Thus at last KPU will provide a break through out of the "vicious circle of poverty".

The KPU will see to it that the banks and insurance companies are nationalised.

Investment and Aid

Kenya's development budget depends heavily on foreign capital. Some think that because Kenya is favoured among those poor countries that have to beg, cap in hand, for aid and investment from rich western countries, she is fortunate, but this is to live in a fool's paradise. She will accumulate not economic strength but an ever-growing dependence from this type of aid.

There is room for foreign investment in Africa. Indeed, KPU will welcome it. But we will consider each investment proposal in the light of the return which the Kenya nation is going to derive from it. The foreign investor will have to ensure that Kenya, and not only his profits, will benefit. This may mean less profit for the investor to take out but it will mean a securer investment, because it will genuinely benefit the mass of the people, and the deal will be the result of genuine negotiation between the parties, not of misconceptions about what is "beneficial to the economy"—or of an under-the-table deal. Fewer profits will be leaving the country as firms are nationalised too, and these can help to balance any such loss of investment.

Not all foreign investment is beneficial. It can be argued there is too much.

Today the climate for foreign investment is so lush that there is sometimes a wasteful duplication of types of industry. Foreign investors expect too high a rate of return to compete with that prevailing in their own fully developed countries—plus extra for the "risk", such as tax incentives, in the high amount of profit they are allowed to take out of the country, and in keeping labour costs low. On top of this, dividends have to be paid every year to the overseas shareholders out of the country's foreign exchange reserves, with guarantees for unrestricted repatriation of original capital.

It is a shocking fact that investors generally come to East Africa only on the basis that they can take out, within five years, what they originally put in.

Relying on foreign capital has established local rates of interest which are as high as the rates which have to be paid to foreign investors. There is no reason why *local capital* should get these high returns, provided strong measures are taken to keep capital from leaving the country.

KPU government will redress this situation. While inviting investment on our own terms, stress will be laid more on government-to-government, or multi-lateral loans, to establish industries ourselves. Skilled people will be invited, on attractive terms, to help run these industries, but special *training schemes* will be launched for Kenyans to take over their management.

Raising Capital

With welfare and training, our abundant labour can make remarkable contributions under the proper leadership and a socialist system. In the same way our land and

natural resources have very much more to offer in social and economic benefits than they are yielding now.

What about the availability of capital? The challenge is two-fold: (1) To acquire and create capital, and (2) To make efficient use of existing capital.

We can be richer and more self-reliant by using available financial resources in a planned manner. This does not mean foreign investors who are really bringing benefits to Kenya, as well as profits to themselves, will shy away because of our planned economy. On the contrary, Kenya under the KPU government will offer sure *long-term prospects* for such investors because KPU will create a climate of genuine political stability. It will foster real economic growth.

KPU will offer attractive terms for such investments but ensure that they are consistent with its policy of genuine independence and that they do not clash with a socialist development plan. Foreign investors will be encouraged to enter into *joint enterprises with the state*, local authorities and para-state bodies — and one of the conditions of their coming in will be that they re-invest part of their profits in the country.

Further, KPU's socialist and Pan African policy will bring it into a far closer and mutually beneficial *partnership with our neighbours* of Eastern Africa and beyond, instead of carrying on the tendency towards Kenya's political isolation which is KANU's legacy in the second half of the 1960's. An immense and firm *common market* will be consolidated with all its benefits. This will permit the *pooling of resources* for large development projects which would not be otherwise possible, such as heavy industries, which are fairly allocated and viable because each has a huge market to serve.

Provided we remain genuinely independent, we do not have to shop for the extra capital and skills we need only in the glossy over-advertised supermarkets of the capitalist world.

Under the KANU Government a large proportion of available capital is either lying idle or being siphoned off into unproductive spending. Those who bleat for a national savings campaign are in the forefront of the luxury spenders. Profits remain in the hands of those who have no interest in national development. The KPU Government will therefore ensure that a proportion of new or expanded profit-making institutions fall under *public control* and it will start gathering enough resources for the expansion of the public sector, so putting more and more of the profits to public use and to real economic expansion.

Of course the most important machinery in making capital contribute to growth will be public control or ownership of the means of production. New profits will accrue to the public sector or will circulate through national banks in harmony with national planning. Government will then be able to direct capital where it most benefits the national economy.

Under KPU, a body such as the Kenya National Trading Corporation will no longer function merely as machinery to siphon trade into the hands of a few African businessmen. It will

operate as a commercial enterprise in itself, making profits for public wealth.

With the capital it accumulates from operations like this, KPU will be able to start turning fake national Development Corporations into genuine ones. Government will no longer play the part of a minority shareholder with foreign interests controlling most of the holdings. In many cases the present government's share in these corporations is actually a loan from its foreign partners.

KPU is committed to employing all methods for the expansion and retention of internal capital, and its efficient circulation for productive investment.

Local capital will be made less expensive, by cutting down its sources of high interest. This will not cause an outflow because KPU will step up local investment opportunities by releasing this capital for more projects which will still allow good returns. It will also dam the present loopholes for capital outflow.

It will mobilise the nation into an attitude of self-reliance and revive the spirit of thrift and saving. It will not hesitate to turn foreign-controlled savings institutions such as banks, insurance companies and building societies into more effective media for serving the national cause. It will gear banking and monetary systems to promoting the objectives of economic independence and rapid expansion.

KPU will welcome and reward private investment in industrial and commercial projects — in accordance with the national plan and on such terms as do not clash with the objectives of socialism.

Employment

Unemployment is the most explosive, yet the most neglected, problem in our country today.

Unemployment must be tackled effectively. The KANU Government's inefficiency is nowhere more vividly shown than in its failure to deal with unemployment. Thousands upon thousands, including many people with school education, are roaming the streets looking for jobs.

The country claims to be making great economic advances. What does this advancement mean if there are no more people in jobs today than there were in 1960?

The population goes on expanding, the majority of school-leavers continue to end up jobless. Thus a large section of our population is becoming frustrated and embittered because they are not given a part to play in national development.

The answer lies in rapid industrial development and proper land use, both pursued on socialist lines. There is a close link between unemployment and the land question. The immediate solution to the problem is more land for

the unemployed who are often the landless. This must go with rapid development of industries in the towns.

KPU Government will mobilise unemployed people into Youth and Builders' Brigades. These brigades will be given clear objectives. These Youth Brigades will turn young men and women into the honoured torchbearers of our pioneering efforts. They will carry the spirit of our freedom fighters forward into the tough challenges of socialist development.

Trade Unions

The Kenyatta government is wedded to a policy of protecting and furthering the interests of the rich and privileged. This policy is incompatible with the interests of the workers who are forced to accept wages and conditions which by comparison are not better than those during colonial times.

Workers who were in the vanguard of our freedom struggle and whose sacrifices, along with those of other freedom fighters, made it possible to shake off the yoke of imperial rule, have suffered severely at the hands of the Kenyatta government.

The policy of direct government intervention in the affairs of trade unions and their central organisation has stunted the growth of a genuine and strong trade union movement. In fact the Kenyatta government never cherished the idea of a powerful and highly organised and well-led trade union movement, for in such a movement it saw a direct challenge to its authority, and to its anti-worker policies. Hence we see the direct hand of the government in the manipulation of trade union elections. The weapon of government patronage is extensively used to buy off the opportunist leadership of the trade unions, while true representatives of the workers, who resisted the KANU rulers and raised demands for improving the lot of the workers were, and still are, persecuted.

KPU believes that workers must enjoy complete freedom in the running of their unions and in formulating policies which safeguard and promote their true interests. The present persecution and victimisation of their leaders who refuse to lend their support to the government's anti-worker policy must cease forthwith.

IV. THE WELFARE OF THE WANANCHI

Education, housing and general welfare services are of first importance in meeting the basic demands and needs of the *wananchi*.

A network of these services provided free throughout the nation, are the main *objectives* of socialism. But at the same time, as they are being developed and spread, they are an important *means* to achieving socialism: they build skilled and healthy minds and bodies, and a population with a sense of purpose in nation building.

But the KPU will make sure that these services really are available.

The KANU government has introduced a free medical service that is a farce. By abolishing the payment of fees without at the same time doing anything about the shortage of facilities and staff, the Government has only increased the difficulties of the people who find they cannot get proper treatment after all.

A rapid and steady expansion towards free and full social services, some of them immediately introduced, is what the people want; it is what they have been promised; it is what the nation needs to survive and grow; it is what the government is put in power to work for. The KPU will work towards these goals by first increasing the facilities so that the *wananchi* can use them when they are free. Therefore while KPU will embark on immediate programmes for efficient medical services, education, and other services throughout the country, for all Kenya citizens, an income test will be introduced for all bread-winners and their families, taking full account of extended family commitments.

Education

Our national development depends to a great extent on skilled people able to make the best use of our resources. The content of our education must undergo sweeping changes. It will be geared to the needs of our society. Our syllabuses will be revised to include greater stress on scientific and technical subjects, while languages *literature and history will be taught according to African perspectives*. For this purpose, such bodies as the curriculum centre will receive a new injection of capital and government attention. Swahili will be introduced as a language subject in all schools up to university level.

KPU pledges to give free primary education to all children of school age. To bring this about, a sizeable proportion of government resources will be channelled into primary education. The party believes that, with sacrifice and dedication from all citizens, and proper socialist planning, *there will be free primary education for all*.

The present government has behaved as if we were one of the richest countries in the world. Nearly all our facilities and our teachers are used as if there was no educational problem. The existing schools, particularly in the towns, set themselves far too high standards — large playing fields, expensive uniforms, long holidays, architect designed buildings — all of which cost far too much. Well equipped schools could teach twice the amount of children they do at present by having two different sessions a day; this is being done successfully in several other African countries. There are many such devices to meet our crying need to provide education for our people. A government with the interests of the people at heart can quite easily start tackling its *responsibility to provide universal free primary education with steps such as these*.

Harambee Schools

Harambee schools have shown the strong feeling for self-help among the people of the country. But they have at the same time provided one more cover for the manipulations of private profit seekers. Some politicians in league with private school managers, have put up the

"Harambee" signboard and proceeded to run a business which often exploits the widespread longing for knowledge.

In the towns too, private schools have exploited the shortage of educational facilities, with inadequate, sometimes dangerous facilities, low-grade teachers, and high fees. They do not, for instance, provide any textbooks. This is a national scandal which has even involved cabinet Ministers, so that statements of intention to clean up these schools could never be followed up by adequate action by the present government.

A KPU government, with its priorities for education, and its mobilisation and resources, and central planning, will harness the people's initiative properly, and establish a thorough programme to guide the development of these self-help schools. The KPU government will assist or take over such schools, provided they are community self-help projects with no "shareholders". Private schools as a whole will come under strict government supervision. Government inspectors will keep a close check to see that the private schools are working to laid-down minimum standards. Ministers will be prevented from deriving financial gain, directly or indirectly, from such schools.

Kenya's settler history left us with a legacy of numerous exclusive schools in which the children of the rich and powerful are trained as future leaders. The present government has accepted the role of these schools and is using them to train a new local elite. Any institution which is designed to create privilege will not be allowed to continue. These schools will therefore be taken over by the KPU government and re-organized to fit in the socialist education system we intend to build in a new Kenya.

Post-Primary Education

The KANU government has done virtually nothing to widen the opportunities for education and training of children leaving primary school. The KPU will continue to expand secondary schools, but it will pay much more attention to technical schools and training in skills that can be used locally and nationally in our economy.

Technical Schools

These are most important institutions in meeting the country's present educational needs. KPU will see that the Technical Schools are expanded and more are established in every district of the country so that the primary and secondary school leavers, who now roam on the streets, can be trained.

The technical schools will provide our youth with an education which will equip them for a full life in Kenya and one which will make them contribute constantly in their work to the practical development of Kenya.

Accordingly, the concept of a technical school will be broadened. The division between purely academic and purely technical schools will be minimised, and students who have gone to technical schools will not come away with an "inferior" education.

KPU will revise the present education syllabus so that agricultural and technical subjects are

taught in our primary and secondary schools while literature and culture also have a place in technical schools.

Village Polytechnics

Young boys and girls who fail to go further in their studies after the seven years of schooling must be found employment. However, there will never be enough industries in the main towns to accommodate them all.

These boys and girls will therefore be set up in village polytechnics in their own areas. The polytechnics will concentrate only on the trades that are appropriate to their areas. In heavily populated areas, for example, the polytechnics would be set up to supply the basic needs of the area — carpentry work for making beds and furniture, and shoe making. In this way they would supply the commodities which are more expensive for people in the rural areas because they have to be brought from towns. In cotton growing areas, there would be spinning and weaving, or even just the making of mattresses. In the fishing areas, fishing industries will be established.

These industries would not be highly mechanised, but depend on the vast manpower at our command. This will decentralise the small industries, and help bring prosperity to the rural areas which need it so much.

KPU will thus sponsor these industries and polytechnics through a properly planned economy, and through its educational policy.

Adult Education

The KANU government has neglected adult education which is so important for the majority of our people who did not have the chance to go far in school. KPU will introduce an expanded programme of adult education which will include literacy, practical training in new skills, and a variety of general subjects which will widen people's understanding of their surroundings and help them in their occupations, farming in particular. KPU is determined to satisfy the wananchi's thirst for knowledge and it will make all possible facilities available in this way.

Universities

A university can either be a source of highly skilled labour, dedicated to national progress, or it can become a breeding ground for social snobbery. Our University College is in great danger of becoming the latter. We are turning out too many students who believe they are destined to become leaders, and yet who consider themselves superior and far above any kind of physical labour, students who have no conception of the meaning of the sacrifices that won our political independence.

We will work to build and extend university facilities, but will not subsidize an institution which produces young men and women who feel no obligation to their society and who imagine that their education at public expense carried no responsibilities with it.

Students who graduate at public expense will be bonded into public service for a certain period — though every

opportunity will be given to satisfy the graduate's personal preference within the service.

In addition, all students and secondary school graduates will be required to serve in development projects within a system of national service.

African Traditions and Culture

Culturally as well as economically, we are still struggling for independence. The present government has displayed an inferiority complex about African traditions and culture, and has done nothing to show Kenyans that modern life does not mean the rejection of traditions and the wholesale importation of European and American ideas and values. Colonialism destroyed many African social traditions and replaced them with the self-seeking capitalism of the conquerors. Now the KANU government has enthusiastically maintained and even intensified these values, pushing further into the background our African values.

KPU will foster a climate in which the growing vitality of urban culture will be presented to the people and taken to the rural areas; it will develop and bring to the towns the best of traditional culture.

Health and Housing

Since independence health services have become increasingly chaotic. The Government has done far too little to socialise medical facilities or foster a sense of social commitment among the medical profession.

Its introduction — in theory — of free medical treatment for children and out-patients throughout the country is one of the biggest fiascos of our first year of independence. Under the blanket of KANU boasts, poorer people needing medical treatment have continued to suffer in almost all areas. They have to wait at some hospitals and health centres for hours, sometimes even days — often to be told when their turn comes, to come back again in weeks, or months. Instead of free medical treatment we have health centres and dispensaries drastically short of staff, medicines and other facilities. The inadequate medical staff at all levels work under severe pressure, and without proper supplies.

Meanwhile the featherbedding of the expatriate community which makes Kenya the rich alien's "paradise" extends to hospitals too. Hospitals largely serving Europeans and Asians function three quarters empty and nursing homes are plentiful. They are too expensive for the ordinary man.

The KANU government claim to provide free treatment has collapsed because it was decreed at the wave of a wand, without careful planning in advance, without adequate follow-up in the expansion of training and facilities,

and in a capitalist context where adequate resources could not be made available for social expansion.

KPU Government will embark on an extensive programme to improve and expand health services. With a view to this, a detailed study of general health needs and present services will be carried out.

The training of doctors, nurses, health inspectors and other health workers will be stepped up to meet the demand for expansion.

In *Housing* too much scarce loan capital is diverted to middle-class housing, at the expense of those who need housing most. Each year the KANU government has spent less than before on housing. *KPU will concentrate on the housing needs of the poor.* KPU will establish rent control on all local and private premises and will reduce present rents which are too high.

V. DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

The KPU will revive democratic government in Kenya. This means that at every level of government there will be *full participation of the wananchi*. This will be expressed not only in the casting of votes at the time of elections but through direct involvement in the formulation of policies right from the village level. People will be free to criticize government policy and the way in which policy is carried out. New policies will be initiated by the wananchi as much as by their leaders at different levels. KPU believes that good government is only possible through constant criticism, KPU will do all it can to encourage criticism and discussion of all aspects of its policies.

The Constitution. The KPU stands for a government legislating through Parliament which is voted into power and stays in power only through regular democratic elections by all adult citizens. KPU will not tolerate any interference in the right of the wananchi to choose representatives for Parliament and other institutions of government.

KPU will guarantee all *basic human rights*: freedom of speech, freedom of association, and freedom of the individual. But no guarantee of the "freedom" of one individual to exploit others and to entrench the privileges which are denied to others under the guise of unrestricted "free enterprise".

Independence of the Judiciary. Lip service can be paid to this principle yet at the same time the independence of the courts can be undermined by a growing number of oppressive laws which avoid the courts, and by discreet pressure on the courts from government quarters. These pressures can cause law officers to follow political expediency rather than real justice.

It has been quite obvious for the last five years since KANU Government took power, that justice has not been seen to be done because of the political interference by the KANU Government, in the Judiciary and also the judiciary has remained in the hands of the expatriates

who fear to lose their jobs if they go against the KANU Government.

KPU therefore pledges to guard the independence of the judiciary which the KANU Government has failed to do.

The Civil Service

Nepotism and "brotherisation" are very widespread in Kenya today.

When a government takes the lead in practising nepotism; when it spreads confusion and hypocrisy about national purpose, then the morale and efficiency of the Civil Service is bound to suffer.

Large numbers of people have moved into new positions of authority and responsibility at all levels. Suddenly they are in a position to use their power to favour relatives, fellow-tribesmen — or those who offer them bribes.

This has happened under KANU government. Many appointments are made without reference to ability at all. They are determined by nepotism. There are cases where breaches of civil service discipline are overlooked because the offenders may be related to influential people. "Jobs for the boys" are created and are affecting efficiency because merit is ignored in selection.

Honest Civil Servants are being intimidated by frequent threats from members of government. Some of them, particularly in the provincial administration are used to do political dirty work which is against their consciences and against Civil Service regulations.

In the present KANU Government the appointment of Senior Civil Servants has been done by the President alone. This has encouraged tribalism, nepotism and favouritism.

Another problem is that many years of colonial rule often leaves some people with the idea that the white man is better fitted for authority than they themselves — or is more to be trusted than some of their fellow Kenyans and they will allow former colonial officers and new foreign experts to do their thinking for them.

KPU will amend the present system to one which will ensure that appointments of senior Civil Servants, Commanders of the armed forces, and members of the statutory boards are approved by the National Executive Committee of the Party.

All other Civil Servants will be appointed by a re-organized Public Service Commission whose members have been approved by the National Executive Committee. There will be no delegation of powers by the Public Service Commission to appoint public servants by any individual.

Status of Women

Although Kenyan women have full political rights, we recognize that in ordinary day to day life they still do not enjoy equal status with men, nor do they have equal opportunities.

The exclusion of women from central politics is not only detrimental to them, but to the government and the

whole country. All laws affect all citizens, and the participation of women in the formulation of legislation is therefore as important as that of men.

More than that, since most women are close to the land and are the anchor of family life, they have an intimate knowledge of problems in the country. They can help to bring common sense and practical knowledge to the tackling of these problems, both in parliament and in all other spheres of public life.

KPU stands for equal opportunities in education to all citizens.

Since women have in practice been neglected, KPU will institute special measures to encourage and enable women to play their rightful role in the affairs of the country.

KPU government will reserve special seats in the National Assembly for women.

The Press, Radio and Television

KPU attaches very great importance to a vigorous nationalist press and radio. At the same time the newspapers, radio and television must be efficient guardians of the public interest, lively in exposing injustice, and sensitive to the issues which concern us all as East Africans, as Africans, and as human beings in the world.

To serve this purpose it is of first importance that the Press, Radio and TV should *not* be muzzled. Human nature is such that even the best of social systems, under the most capable and idealistic leadership, can go bad if overwhelming control of the organs of information and public expression is in the hands of unscrupulous power-seekers.

But in fact it is more than that. At present those in power have a policy which they cannot afford to be honest about. The foreign owned press reflects their own policy satisfactorily and provides a perfect scapegoat whenever government makes mistakes.

Do the Kenyan newspapers and journals champion the cause of the common man? Do they reflect the mood of the mass of the people? Are their foreign news sources anything like non-aligned? The answers are obviously no.

The KANU government controls the mismanaged "Voice of Kenya", which it uses — with astonishing inefficiency — to promote the image of a few individuals and imperialist nations.

The voice of KANU is a perfect reflection of pro-imperialist opportunists in the government. They have no cultural identity, no political direction of their own, and their grasp of economics is generally limited to what they can get for themselves. They have nothing to say, nothing to put across and much to suppress.

The KPU government will set about revitalising the Press and VOK so that they can fight constantly for the preservation of freedom and human rights, inform, educate and unite the people, and

play a major part in restoring vitality and self-confidence to our cultural life.

KPU will launch a party newspaper to disseminate its policies and perspectives and to encourage fearless public debate of policies.

Trade Union federations, co-operative groups and other such associations of the people will be encouraged and aided to publish newspapers, to strengthen the participation of the people in the Press.

The nation-building role of VOK will be strengthened. This does not mean it will continue to be a vehicle for propagating personality cults. It will provide a platform for issues, not ambitious individuals. And constant questioning of the way socialism is being carried out will be encouraged.

The educational role of the broadcasting services will be considerably expanded, and the potential of television and radio for adult education programmes will be explored.

Entertainment will seek to cater for the cultural interests of all communities. But more than that, our broadcasting services will seek to record and reflect the exciting kaleidoscope of daily life as it is, in all parts of Kenya and East Africa. The cameraman and the reporter will be an important instrument for national and East African unity, by introducing the different communities and tribes of the country to each other as they really are, to bring the knowledge and mutual understanding that will drive away fear, suspicion and narrow-minded ambitions.

VI. FOREIGN POLICY

Kenya under a KPU government will begin to play a positive role in African and world affairs.

We must work in close co-operation with all developing countries to force through changes in the present world pattern of economic relations, which causes the rich countries to get richer while the poor nations get poorer, the most dangerous trend in world affairs today.

Only by joining hands first with those nations whose interests we share, can we hope for lasting peace and progress for ourselves. Only in unity can we find the political strength to further our common interests, and the economic strength to develop.

The KANU government is in the front ranks of the regimes which are selling out on the principles and evading the challenge of *African unity*. African unity has taken bad blows in recent years from the failures of Governments like the KANU government to strengthen a united front.

Non-alignment has given way and Kenya's government has become a satellite state of Britain, West Germany and the United States, unable to think out or to follow its own foreign policies.

To achieve non-alignment Kenya under KPU will strike a balance in her relations between East and West — not because we must be "fair to both sides," but because we must stop ourselves being

forced to take sides in a power struggle which does not have our national or African interests at stake.

Over the Congo, Kenyatta became a willing partner in the machinations of the Western powers led by the United States of America in crushing nationalist forces which were engaged in an armed struggle to free their country from the political and economic stranglehold of imperialist powers. The history of the disgraceful role played by the KANU government is too recent and too vivid to need further elaboration. It has been fully substantiated by an American diplomat who has lavishly praised Kenyatta and his government — much to their embarrassment — for their ignominious policy against our brothers in the Congo.

Similarly in Rhodesia, Kenyatta's policy has been completely subservient to that of Britain. Kenyatta's support for Rhodesian Africans against the usurpation of government by Smith has been lukewarm. In fact senior Ministers of the Kenyatta government are on record as having at an international conference publicly denounced Rhodesian Africans as unfit to rule their country. It is no longer a secret that Kenyatta gave an undertaking to Britain to support its policy against the use of arms to bring down the Smith rebellion. No wonder Kenyatta and Kenya diplomats have become so respectable in the British and American press!

In the OAU Kenya is now thoroughly distrusted. The other African countries have to their dismay and shock discovered that Kenyatta's government speaks with two voices. Its words in OAU meetings in support of African demands and freedom causes are not echoed outside, or in action, and it is now generally recognised that Kenyatta's actions are dictated not by the interests of the people of Africa but by the requirements of British and American policy on the continent.

Kenyatta's attitude to the struggle for the liberation of African countries still under white rule is vague and ambiguous. For fear of offending its British and American friends, the KANU government has never offered active support to the liberation movements engaged in armed struggle against the rule of white minority dictatorships in the south. Thus, on Rhodesia, Britain finds the KANU government is more "understanding" than most: On Vietnam, the United States will find Kenya gives her no "trouble". Here even Israel finds favour, behind an official facade of neutrality over the Middle East, and here the new white South African imperialism finds room to expand, as more and more profits from the sweat of cheap black labour in South Africa are invested in Kenya.

KPU will rescue Kenya from this humiliating betrayal of our national duty and of our potential influence for the cause of freedom throughout the African continent.

A New Future for Kenya

As is now clear from reading the preceding pages, KPU will bring many more material benefits for the people than they have now; many more than the present government offers. These things will be done immediately

where possible, or in steady phases, starting when we are returned as the government of Kenya.

They include:

Immediate free primary education for all. Stepped up education and training at all levels. Better conditions for teachers. A programme for adult education.

Land for the landless.

A national plan to make productive use of unemployed people by organising brigades and putting more manpower into development projects which do not bring quick economic returns.

Improved and extended free health services.

Stepped-up housing programmes.

A range of welfare services, properly organised and co-ordinated under government control, to take care of those whose own families cannot look after them.

All these things cost money — much more than the present government spends on the people. Why does KPU put these services and opportunities high on its list of priorities?

This is a very serious question which KANU Ministers and others with inflated salaries, big cars and large bank accounts, dismiss guiltily — and foolishly — as “wanting free things”.

What are Kenya's resources? They are:

Giant tracts of some of the most fertile land in Africa.

A structure of industries and communications that compare favourably with most in Africa.

A rich endowment of beautiful scenery, varied climate and wildlife.

Minerals and other natural resources — many of which are yet to be discovered or made use of.

People — to work hard and turn all these resources into material wealth.

Nobody can take these away from Kenya. They are here for ever. It is up to us to use them efficiently and to share the wealth they bring democratically.

Let us take PEOPLE first. The people of a country are not just a “population” whose growth must be “controlled”, a burden to be looked after, or a labour force to be exploited. Properly fed, housed, medically cared for, trained and educated, they are a valuable economic resource. We cannot increase our skills if we do not develop the people.

Capital plays a large part in the rapid development of modern society. But in Africa above all, we must remind ourselves of the truth that it is and always will be man, working with his fellow men to apply his energies and skills to the land and materials around him — who creates development.

Yet it seems that the people who drive to their large new farms, their smart houses or their cocktail parties in their big new cars cannot get this through their heads. Some of them really think they can fob the people off with a flag, an anthem and a Parliament. They cannot.

However difficult it may be to organise and channel resources so that the mass of people start enjoying a better, fuller life, that is what the Government of Kenya must try to do **BECAUSE THAT IS WHAT IT IS PUT IN POWER TO DO.**

It is the right of the wananchi to expect their government to launch an all-out programme to provide a better life for them and their children. Political democracy is a bitter mockery if a mother and father can see no way out of ignorance, poverty and disease for their children. And only through immediate practical steps towards a better day-to-day life can the strong feeling of national unity, which took us into independence, be carried forward into development. Only in this way is the citizen given a real stake in his government.

KPU is fully aware of the great challenges and problems involved in these programmes. They must be realistic and soundly planned. But they must be based on our own national priorities as we see them. We have to learn to think for ourselves, to work out what is realistic for us. But how, with our shortage of resources and skills, will KPU be able to provide these things for the wananchi? That is the key question in our whole policy.

The answer lies in socialism, applied to the Kenyan and the African situation:

a) We must find out exactly what our resources really are,

b) We must apply a policy to make the best of these resources for the direct benefit of the people as a whole.

Self-help then becomes a national movement, properly co-ordinated under government and not merely a series of isolated experiments left to flounder in their own difficulties, as they are now, by a government which does not really believe in them.

Unless we look after our people first, and make use of our people first, we will not develop and we will not survive as a nation. **MAN WILL COME INTO HIS OWN AS AN ECONOMIC RESOURCE WHEN HIS BACK IS STRAIGHT, HIS MIND CLEAR, HIS HANDS STRONG AND SKILLED, AND HE IS PROPERLY MOBILISED TO WORK WITH HIS FELLOWS.**

Our economic and social problems are often said to centre around “a shortage of work”. This is a classic mis-statement of the problem. There is plenty of work waiting to be done. The problem is how to organise our society to do it. And the best formula man has yet come up with to solve this problem is socialism. KPU will apply this formula as the situation in Kenya and in Africa requires.